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SECOND PART

THE LIFE OF THE FAMILY AND OF THE VILLAGE

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621 592 Having followed a man and a woman from the beginning to the end of their existence, I now come to the Life of the Family and of the Village. Both subjects are in close connexion. As a rule, a village is but a family composed of the headman, the father, his wives, his children and the old folk who depend upon him; but in many cases his younger brothers live with him, sometimes a son-in-law, or even a stranger, and all these inmates compose the village, *muti* (1). In the first chapter we shall consider the family itself, its constitution, the system of relationship, and in the second, the village, the concrete embodiment of the family, its foundation, its main laws and the respective occupations of its members.

CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF THE FAMILY

121 601 The kinship system of the Thongas and, I suppose, of all the Bantus is widely different from ours, and greatly surprises the

(1) Native villages are generally called *kraals* by South African colonists. This expression comes from the Portuguese word *curral* which means properly stable. I shall employ it to designate the enclosure where oxen are kept, the cattle-kraal, but it does not seem right to apply it to the *muti* which is a *village*, however small and poor it may be. The Portuguese call native villages *povoação*.

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uninitiated student who tries to understand it. It is a very complicated matter indeed. In *Les Ba-Ronga* I have given the genealogy of Tobane and tried to sketch the system, and even to explain it. I cannot say that I was altogether satisfied with this first attempt. When later on I had an opportunity of studying the subject in the Northern clans, I found that a comparison between the customs of the different parts of the tribe helped greatly to an understanding of the whole matter. This led me to extend my investigation to neighbouring tribes, and, after the publication of the first edition of this book, I made inquiries amongst the Vendas, Pedi-Khahas, Suthos, Chopis, Ndjaos and Tongas. I then conceived the ambitious plan of drawing up a table of the terms of relationship in all these tribes or sub-tribes, being convinced that it would be of great interest, both from the linguistic and from the ethnographic point of view. I publish it in Appendix IV, at the end of this Volume. My chief concern remains with the Thonga tribe, but after having described in detail the kinship system amongst the Thongas, I intend to sketch some of the most characteristic customs met with amongst their fellow Bantus in South Africa.

May I add that though it is comparatively easy to discover the main ideas in relation to the family in the Thonga tribe, yet the whole tangle is extraordinarily difficult to unravel. I had believed that it was composed of two threads only, twisted together and knotted a hundred times : the lobola and polygamy customs. But I saw that many other threads were entwined with these : remnants of an ancient state of society where the mother-right prevailed, and perhaps traces of the old group-marriage system which is still extant amongst Australian natives. My aim is more modest to-day. I do not claim to explain everything, but to present a wider, more complete statement of facts, which I offer to professional anthropologists in order that they may fix the place of the present Thonga system of relationship in the evolution of the human family.

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601 193 Grammatically speaking, most of the Thonga terms of kinship belong to the class mu-ba, the personal class. They form their plural in *ba* (batatana, bana, bamakwabu, batukulu). Some however are of the class yin-tin which comprises mostly animals, but also names of trades and of family relations : Ndjisana, nhondjwa, namu, nhombe, nhlantsa forming their plural in *ti*. The five following terms, Tatana, Mamana, Rarana, Malume, Kokwana, are treated as proper nouns when they are used as such. For instance when I say Tatana, it means *my* father, the one to whom this term applies par excellence. In this case Tatana is not preceeded by the initial vowel *a* or *e*, which is always prefixed to the common nouns (See Elementary Grammar ot the Thonga-Shangaan Language, page 26 § 65). If I wish to say "his father," I should say : Atatana wa kwe (Ro.), or Etata wa yena (Dj.) etc.

B. EXPLANATION OF THONGA TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

602 Let us go deeper into the study of each of these terms, trying to ascertain their principal and derivative meanings. We shall consult the three genealogies here given, those of Tobane (A), of Mboza (B) and of his wife Nsabula (C), endeavouring to ascertain not only the social but also the moral relation existing between these several people. There are two kinds of relationship : blood relationship or consanguinity and marriage relationship, relationship on the wife's side or affinity. Amongst blood relatives, there are two categories which differ more from each other amongst the Bantus than amongst us, relatives on the father's side and on the mother's side. On the father's side, the relatives are called bakweru (Ro.), barikweru (Dj.), those of our home ; and on the mother's side, bakokwana, the ancestors.

We shall consider each of these three relationships separately, though it will be found impossible to isolate them entirely from each other. In each of them, we shall find two sets of terms : terms of correspondence and of reciprocity. We shall see also

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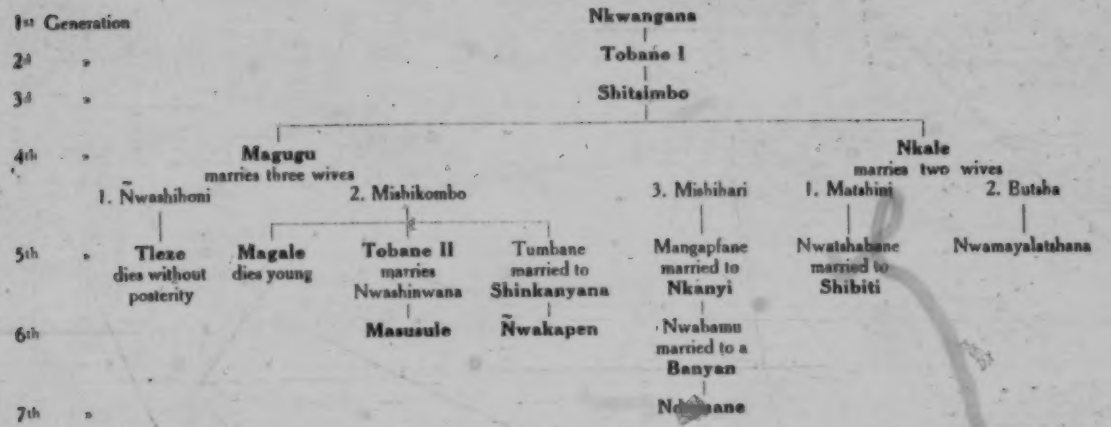
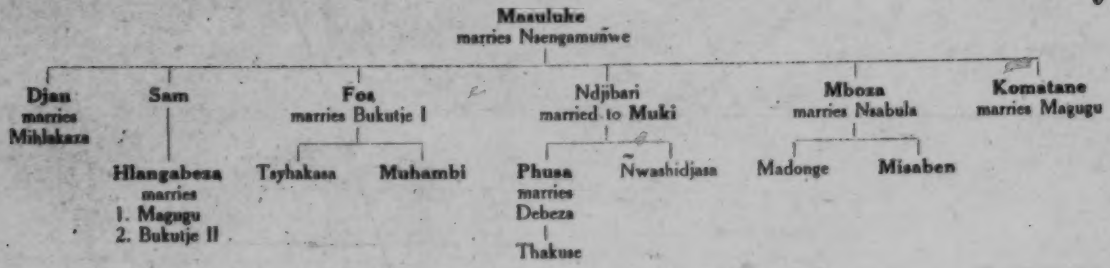
A. Genealogy of Tobane

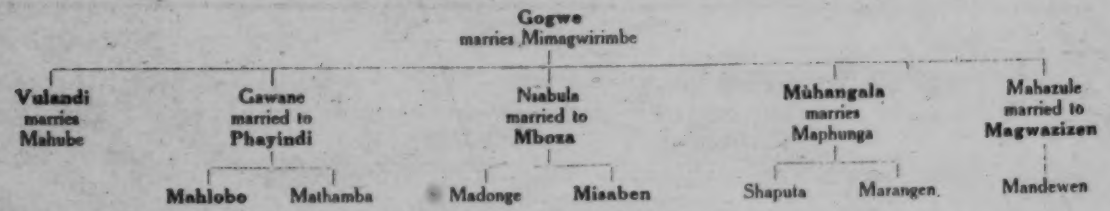


Mishikombo has two brothers, **Shigwalati** and **Mahwayi** and one sister Budiulu, **Shigwalati** has one daughter, Mintshale. Ñwashihoni has a brother, **Madyondjo** and a sister, Ntungwen.

B. Near Relatives of Mboza



C. Near Relatives of Nsabula Migogwe, wife of Mboza



N. B. The names of the male members of the family are printed in dark type.

602 that these appellations are expressive of many different things, one of the main considerations dictating them being the right of a man to marry his wife's relatives, or to inherit the women belonging to his own family.

I. *Blood relationships.*

601 The general term to indicate this relationship is *bushaka* (from *shaka*, *mashaka*), relatives.

1) Relatives on the father's side.

(Bakweru : *ba*, those, *ku*, at, *eru* possessive pronoun of the first person plur. means those *with us*, in our home.)

Let us first consult Tobane, called Tobane II in the genealogy.

601 He calls Magugu his father, *tatana*. The relation implies
593 respect and even fear. The father, though he does not take much
611 trouble with his children, is nevertheless their instructor, the one who scolds and punishes. Absolute obedience is due to him on the part of his sons and daughters (App. V). So also in the case of the *father's brothers*, who are also called "batatana ba shirare :" the elder brother who is a "great father" to Tobane, and the younger
601 brother Nkale, "tatana lwe'ntjongo", a "little father." Their
611 wives, Matshini for instance, are mothers to him, though he can in certain cases marry them by inheritance. The cousins of the father are also fathers (Muhambi to Thakusa, for instance, Gen.. B.), provided the father calls them brothers.

There is another term for father, *rara* in Djonga, *roro* in Ronga ; roro is only employed with the possessive pronoun in the three following forms : rorwa'nga, my father, rorwa'ku, your father, rorwa'bu, their father. The correlative of tatana is *ñwana*, son or daughter.

Tobane II calls Shitsimbo *kokwana*, grandfather, Tobane I kokwane wa tatana, grandfather of father, and Nkwangana kokwana wa kokwana, grandfather of grandfather. The expression

601 611 tatana wa kokwana, father of grandfather, is never employed. The great-grandfather and the great-great-grandfather are sometimes designated as follows : he who does not see his grandson when he has been sent by the women to bring him food ; the boy eats it on the way and the old man does not notice it! (Page 132). These progenitors call Tobane *ntukulu*, grandson. He is the true ntukulu of Shitsimbo ; to Tobane I, he is the *ntukulu wa shikandjatjolo*, "the one who sits on the knees ;" to Nkwangwana, the *ntukulu wo shikandjamirombo*, a word which seems to mean "the one who sits on the toes." In Djonga there is one more of these curious expressions applied to batukulu, *ntukulu wa shinguhe*. "When he pronounces that name," says Gana, "my great-grandfather points near by ; when he says *ntukulu wa shikandjatjolo*, he points further down." To understand this properly, we must imagine the following patriarchal scene : a very, very old man is sitting on the ground, holding his son (ñwana) in his arms, and with his grandson (ntukulu) on his thigh, his great-grandson (wa shikandjatjolo) on his knees and his great-great-grandson on his toes (1). The fact that these terms have become almost obsolete shows that the system of counting descent from the father is at any rate very old in our tribe. There must even have been a time when the ancestors in the paternal line were better known than now. The wives of these bakokwana are also bakokwana, in the same way as their husbands.

601 604 The father's sister is *rarana* (Ro.) *-hahane* (Dj.). The two words are the same, as *r* often changes into *h* in Thonga phonetics : the prefix of the first class, *mu* or *n*, now dropped, may have caused this change. Rarana approaches very closely to rara, father. It is employed in this form when it means *my* aunt. When we wish to say your aunt, his aunt, rarana becomes rarakati wa ku, rarakati

601 888 (1) There is another interpretation of these terms as applied to the grandparents: *kokwana wa shinguhe :* he is poor, miserable! When an ox is killed in the village, they do not even send him his share; he is far away. *Kokwana wa shikandjatjolo :* he is almost blind. When he wants to see his great-grandson he calls him and tells him : "Sit down on my knees." *Kokwana wa shikandja-mirombo :* mirombo or mitjombo means the small ears of maalies used to prepare the beer of the offerings. This kokwana, the great-great-grandfather, is already almost like one of the ancestor-gods to whom sacrifices are made!

601 wa kwe. This word means exactly female father. (See the meaning 604 of this suffix *ati*, page 36, foot note.) Tumbane is rarana of Masusule. Masusule, to her, is also ñwana. He shows her great respect. However, she is in no way a mother (mamana). Yet, amongst the paternal relatives, she is the one to whom a boy or a girl will tell their secrets; her nephew or niece will go to her in order to get advice and help in their difficulties. Occasionally she will intercede for them with their father and her influence may be decisive. The rarana may be called on to officiate in a sacrifice offered on behalf of her nephews, the children of her brothers, if the latter are all dead.

Any female who is a near relation of my father or of my paternal ancestors, is also by extension a rarana: the daughters of my paternal grand-uncle, for instance, who are like sisters to my father, etc.

The husband of my paternal aunt is neither a father nor an uncle, but a *mukoñwana* or *namu*, brother-in-law, because, as we shall see, he has a kind of prior right to marry my sister (1). (Shinkanyana versus Masusule, Gen.A; or Muki versus Muhambi, Gen. B.). To Madonge, Muki is *nkata*, husband, on account of this possibility. He is a potential husband for her. Consequently Madonge is a potential co-wife of her paternal aunt, a co-wife of a particular kind, and the term used to indicate that relation is *nhlampsa*. We shall explain this term more fully by and by.

601 Tobane !I calls Tumbane *makwabu*; this term, which is

(1) Though the husband of the paternal aunt is a mukoñwana, a term which implies respect, the respect shown to him is not great. Gana says: "When he passes through our village, I shall say to him: Good morning, namu! We tell each other freely the news of the day (djungulisana). He eats with us. We buy for him a little rice, a fowl. If I go to his village, I open the door of his hut and put my stick inside without asking permission... a thing which I would never do in the village of my wife's parents, who are my true bakoñwana. I sit down and say to him: 'Give me this or that..., for instance your hat.' He may refuse, but if he possesses two hats of the same shape, I insist and say: 'Give me one! We shall be like each other.' Thus we make fun together, we jest together (mpfhabelana)." — Would the uterine nephew behave in the same way towards his maternal uncle? — Not at all! The behaviour of the uterine nephew is called nyenyela. He shows no restraint at all; he comes and catches a fowl, a goat; he steals a pot of beer. When they see him coming, they say: "Here is the wizard, etc." (See later on. p. 232).

601 reciprocal, means brothers as well as sisters. If he wishes to specify, he adds to makwabu : "of the assagai," or "of the basket." It is never employed except when united with the possessive pronoun : *makweru* means my brother, *makwenu* your brother, *makwabu*, his brother or sister. The elder brother is called *nhondjwa* (plur. tinhondjwa). The nhondjwa is also called *hosi* (plur. tihosi) chief. The hierarchy of age is very strictly observed amongst the Thongas. The elder brother is treated with great respect and gives orders to his younger brothers with almost the same authority as the father. It must be noticed also that the position of elder brother is not only a matter of age, but, in the polygamic family, all the children of a first wife, or of the first house, are *tihosi* to the children of secondary or posterior wives or houses, though they may have been born after them. They take precedence of them. Amongst girls, an elder sister is often called *mamana*, mother, whilst an elder brother is never a tatana (father) but a hosi (chief).

601 593 595

601 4/28 605 The term *makwabu* is applied to all my first and second cousins who have the same paternal grandfather, or great-grandfather, as I have. Cousins on my mother's side are also bamakwabu, some of them at least, those who are my maternal aunt's children. But cousins on the father's side are more fully bamakwabu than those on the mother's side : Muhambi is more so to Hlangabeza than to Mahlobo, because the two former belong to the same shibongo, family name ; they are men of the Makaneta clan and Muhambi could therefore inherit Hlangabeza's wives ; Muhambi and Mahlobo are not of the same clan, and could not inherit from each other. From this fact we begin to see that the laws of inheritance, and especially the laws of the distribution of the widows amongst the family which has bought them, are closely connected with the system of relationship.

601 The man who has married my wife's sister is also a makwabu to me, a nhondjwa if he has married her elder sister (Phayindi to Mboza), a ndjisana if the younger (Magwazizen to Mboza). The brothers of Phayindi and Magwazizen are also called brothers by Mboza.

There is a special term in the Northern clans to indicate the

There is a special term in the Northern clans to indicate the
601 relationship of two men who have married two sisters born of the
177 same mother. They are called : bamakwabu ba shinauma, an expression which is the simplification of the following sentence : shi na wuñwe mamana, i. e. there is only one mother. This term seems to have been borrowed from the Pedis.

2) Relatives on the mother's side.

601 Tobane II calls Mishikombo *mamana*, mother. She is his
593 true mamana and this relation is very deep and tender, combining respect and love. Love however generally exceeds respect. The proper word for tenderness is *timpsalu*, which comes from *psala*, to beget, and the mother is often called *mpsele* (a term which is applied also to the female of all animals). It is the word which answers best to the feelings of a mother for her children. She is generally weak with them and is often accused by the father of spoiling them.

601 The mother's sisters are *bamamana* in the second degree,
604 because, if the true mother dies, one of them will probably take care of the children. Their husbands are *batatana* : Phayindi is tatana to Madonge and Muhambi. He calls them *bana*, children. Mboza is also a tatana to Mahlobo and Mathamba, being a makwabu, brother of their father, owing to the fact that he and Phayindi have married sisters.

601 All the co-wives are also *bamamana*, mothers by polygamy,
578 (Ñwashihoni and Mishihari to Tobane). They are *bamamana*
595 *ba shitshengwe*, harem mothers. I respect them but they are further from me than my mother's sisters. A more familiar term for mother, corresponding to roro, father, is *ñwa*, a word always used with the possessive pronoun and only in the second and third person : ñwaku, your mother, ñwakwe, his mother. Ñwaku is employed in certain insults and oaths, and is to be avoided as being vituperative.

601 Many other women are mamana : the wife of my paternal uncle (Magugu for Muhambi), though I can inherit her in certain cases ; the daughter of my maternal uncle, because she is the

601 potential wife of my father (Shaputa to Misaben), not to mention those women of my wife's family who can be so called. An elder sister is also mamana to her younger sister, and sometimes a husband calls his wife mamana (1).

If the mother's sister is a mother, the mother's brother is by no means a father. He is called *malume* or *kokwana*, and here we meet with one of the most characteristic features of the Thonga, and even Bantu, system of relationship. The term kokwana means first the paternal grandfather and all the ancestors on the father's side, and this is its proper essential meaning. The bakokwana are also all my mother's male relatives: her brothers, fathers, uncles, etc. They form a group which I call "ka bakokwana" which means "my mother's home," just as *kweru* means my father's home, my official home. Kweru comes first; ka bakokwana next. "The bushaka on the father's side is the head; on the mother's side, only the legs" (Mboza). 593 Let us remember that a child lives at his father's home and only 602 goes on a visit to his mother's village. He may stay there for [591] years after the weaning, but if he chose to settle there, he would be made fun of and severely censured by his father and his paternal uncles. "You are stupid," they would say, "you leave your own village, you go to the village of your bakokwana to increase it! This is true folly. Has not your mother been bought with money? The children she bore belong to your father, just like the calves of his cows." (Mboza.) But if the home of the mother cannot become the home of the children, the relations they maintain with

601 576 (1) The term mamana is frequently used by an interlocutor, without any idea of relationship, when speaking to married women of a more advanced age than himself. Such an extented meaning is also frequent with tatana, kokwana, ñwana. Any man older than I am can be addressed by me as tatana and will answer by calling me ñwana. If the difference of age is greater, we shall treat each other as kokwana and ntukulu. Speaking in the third person a child will always put tatana before the name of any grown up man, though he belong to a totally different clan. Women round Lourenco Marques often call a White man nkata, husband. This shows that kinship terms are employed as expressing moral relations as well as blood or family relations, and we must not draw hasty conclusions from the way in which these terms are applied, or necessarily see in them the traces of a previous social state in which every grown up man or woman was looked on as a true father or mother. The Thongas may give to these terms an extended meaning. Nevertheless they differentiate perfectly between their technical and their derived sense.

602 their bakokwana are of a much freer, more agreeable and kindlier
393 nature than those with their father's relatives.

Amongst the Thongas of the North the maternal grandfather and the maternal uncles are called indiscriminately kokwana. The Ronga dialect makes a distinction between kokwana, maternal grandfather, and malume, mother's brother; but the malume is often
601 called kokwana. In the Northern clans the *uterine nephews*, viz. the sons of my sister, are always called *ntukulu*, which is the term corresponding to kokwana, as we have seen ; amongst the Ba-Ronga, they bear a special name, *mupsyana*, which seems to be becoming obsolete, being often replaced by ntukulu (1).

Let us consider these various relatives on the mother's side.
603 The maternal grandfather is the great, the true kokwana. He is respected for his age. He is however more lenient to his grandson by his daughter than to his grandson by his son. If the first damages anything, he will say : "That is no business of mine. Let the father of the child scold him, as he does harm to his property. I have nothing to do with their affairs. It is not my village." But if it were his grandson by his son, it would be a totally different matter, and he would be hard on him. However, should a child take too great a liberty with his kokwana, the old man will say to him : "Go and play with your malume."
604 The malume, indeed, for his uterine nephew, is quite different from any other relative. No respect at all is necessary towards him! "You go to *bombela* in his village ; you do what you please. You take all the food you want without asking permission. If you are ill, he will take special care of you and will sacrifice for you" (Viguet). In the Ronga dialect this bombela is called *nyenyela*. When the mupsyana goes to his maternal uncle, accompanied by his comrades who scent a good meal, the wives of the malume call to him : "Come along, husband (nkata)! Look here, your malume has hidden some food in the back part of the hut (mfungwe), behind the large basket (ngula). Go and take it." The boy steals the food, runs away with it and eats it up to the last morsel

(1) This is one of many proofs that the Ronga clans have preserved some old customs better than their Northern compatriots. Their language also possesses certain archaic features which are wanting in the Northern dialects.

604 that I intend to treat it more fully later on in a special paragraph, when considering the traces of older forms of family life amongst the Thongas.

601 The true malume is the mother's full brother. But all her half brothers are also bamalume in the second degree ; so are also the brothers of the true malume.

605 What about the *children of the malume*, my cousins, or rather my
835 cross-cousins, sons and daughters of my mother's brothers, viz.
582 Shaputa and Marangen as opposed to Madonge and Misaben ? In Zulu, Sutho, Pedi there is a special term to indicate this relation, (mzala, motsoala, mudzwala, muzwala). And the main feature of the family system in those tribes is that a cousin has a prior right to marry the daughter of his maternal uncle, his mzala. Amongst the Thongas there is nothing of the kind. The special term does not exist except in the Maputju clan, at the Southern extremity of Thonga territory, where it is met with in the form of *ntale* (corresponding to mzala, according to the law of phonetic permutation) (1) or *shitale* (when preceded by the prefix shi).

605 But the right of marrying this cousin is not recognized in the
835 Thonga tribe. One can play with her, steal some object from
582 her in fun, but never take her as a wife. Such a breach of the
602 custom would be punished by the chief. Later on, when the special relation of cross-cousins has been more or less forgotten, marriage could take place between them, but, at any rate, the ceremony of dlaya shilongo (see p. 256) would be performed, in order to "kill" the previous relationship and to replace it by the new relation of husband and wife.

This being so, how do cross-cousins behave towards each other in the Thonga system ? As regards the daughter of their maternal uncle, the relationship is somewhat different for Misaben, a boy, and for Madonge, a girl. To Misaben the boy, Shaputa, his cousin, is mamana and she will call him son, ñwana, because, as we have seen, Shaputa is a potential wife for Mboza, father of Misaben, and Mboza calls her nkata, nsati, namu. To Madonge,

605 (1) They also employ the cognate form *muzali*, which is more akin to the Zulu regular term, and this tends to show that the Maputjus have borrowed this expression from their Zulu neighbours of Northern Amatongaland.

605 the girl, Shaputa is also a mamana ; but the term makweru, my sister, is more frequently used. So we find this strange fact : Maphunga, the mother of Shaputa is a wife to Misaben, while her daughter, Shaputa, is a mother to him!

As regards the son of my malume, he is also a malume or a kokwana, though he may be of the same age or even younger than I, because he belongs to the family from which we take wives and also because he has a kind of right to offer sacrifices for his ntukulu, as we shall see. Totally different is the relationship between Misaben and Mahlobo and Mathamba, *children of his mother's sister*. They are *bamakwabu* as truly as the children of rarana, the paternal aunt, because they have sucked from the same breast (ba yanwele bele djinwe).

601 At this point of my treatise I must stop for a moment to consider more closely the use of these two terms, *kokwana and ntukulu*, which are so widely employed in the Thonga kinship system. They are applied first to the relation between a grandson and his grandparents on the father's side, i. e. his paternal grandfather and his paternal grandmother ; secondly to the relation between that same grandson and his maternal grandfather and grandmother and to the relation of a nephew to his maternal uncle and to all the male members of his mother's family. Now my informants point out very decidedly that these two relations are very different from each other, and they call the bakokwana on the father's side *bakokwana ba shinene* (the true bakokwana), whilst the bakokwana on the mother's side are *bakokwana ba shisati* (the bakokwana on the female side) ; one also speaks of *batukulu ba shinene*, the real batukulu and of *batukulu ba shisati*, the batukulu by females. How is it possible for them to make such an identification, an identification which we find in almost all the South African tribes (See Table. App. IV) ? They recognize that the two relations are not the same, and the description which we have just given clearly shows the difference.

It would be useful to know the etymology of these two terms. Unhappily my informants could not ascertain it. Kokwana is the diminutive of koko, which has been preserved in its original form in the Zulu word gogo and in the Khosa koko. This root, associated with prefixes which are not those of the personal class, means either the dried carcase of a dead animal, or a person with stiff limbs, who cannot

601 stretch them out. I must leave Zulu linguists to decide if it is really the same root. If so, the etymological idea would be that of a person worn out and paralyzed by old age.

The only explanation that I can give of the common use of the terms kokwana-ntukulu for both relations is this. Both the paternal grandparents and the mother's relatives are similar in their dealings with a child in the fact that they are more lenient towards him than his father. The two grandmothers are equally kind to him. The maternal grandfather is more lenient than the paternal grandfather ; but, according to the explanation given above, it is because the latter belongs to the same family (shibongo) as his grandchild and may be called on to scold him if his conduct is prejudicial to the interests of their common village, whilst the maternal grandfather does not worry himself if the child damages the property or the good reputation of his parents. It is not his business.

The malume is the most indulgent of all. We shall see how this fact can be explained by the matriarchy hypothesis.

Another connotation of these two terms, when applied to social groups, i. e. to two different families, is this. The bakokwana are those from whose family the batukulu have the right of taking their wives. As we shall see, this meaning is much more marked in the category of tribes which belong to the Pedi-Venda group than amongst the Thongas and other tribes of the same category.

II. *Relations with parents-in-law.*

1) Relationship on the Wife's side.

a) General characteristics.

606 593 Once, when speaking on this subject, old Viguet told me solemnly : "By your betrothal, as soon as you have been accepted, you enter into a new kind of respect and must remain in it till your death." This relationship is called *bukonwana*, a word that is generally pronounced with a peculiar feeling of uneasiness. Why is this? On account of the relations of husband and wife. Mboza calls

606 393 Nsabula *nsati* (a term corresponding to *nuna*, husband) or *nkata*, a reciprocal term, or *nkosikazi*, a Zulu word which means queen, or *ntjibeli*, cook, even *mamana*. I have already described the moral relation which the word nsati implies : no very great tenderness, not much intimacy, but a certain amount of love mingled with respect, and even fear, because a wife can get her husband into endless trouble if she begins to quarrel and runs home ; then all the bukoñwana relations will be spoilt by interminable discussions.

The word bukoñwana is composed of three elements : the root *ko*, which is an ancient Bantu root, found also in Zulu-Xosa (kwe), in Sutho (hoe) and Pedi (χwe). Its meaning is etymologically unknown. To it is added a suffix, *ñwana*, and a prefix *bu*. The prefix bu has a double meaning ; the meaning of abstraction (and then bukoñwana indicates the relationship between a man and his relatives-in-law) and the meaning of place (when bukoñwana indicates the village where relatives-in-law dwell). They say, employing this word in the locative case : To go bukoñwanen, or in an abbreviated form : bukwen.

601 607 I have been fortunate enough to obtain from Mboza the full nomenclature of his wife's relatives. It so happens that the Gogwe family is extraordinarily complete. Nsabula has both an elder brother and elder sister, a younger brother and a younger sister. Owing to this, I have been able to study all the possible kinds of relationship of Mboza with his wife's relatives.

The terms used to express these kinds of relationship fall into two categories, which present a striking contrast. On the one hand a man, when he goes to his wife's village, meets with the persons he fears most in the world : these are his *bakoñwana*, properly speaking ; on the other hand he finds there the women towards whom he behaves with the greatest liberty ; these are the *tinamu*. Describing these two sets of relatives-in-law, one of my informants said : "Bakoñwana are those persons who produce wives for you ; tinamu are those persons who produce children for you, because they are your presumptive wives. Even if you do not marry them, their children will call you father."

Let us study these two categories in detail.

582 595 835 Though laying much stress on this very important difference we must notice, nevertheless, that there is a certain correspondence between the rights of men and women in this respect. A man has a preferential right to his wife's younger sisters, and to the daughters of his wife's brothers, be these men younger or older than his wife. He is a potential husband for all these tinamu. It results from this fact, that, as regards a woman, she is also a potential wife for all her husband's younger brothers, who can inherit her and are also called tinamu by her, and for the sons of her husband's sisters, be they older or younger than her husband.

601 582 Another feature of these early Australian forms of society is that all the persons belonging to a given generation call each other brothers (or sisters), and call the preceding generation fathers and mothers and the following generation sons indiscriminately. We may compare with this classificatory system the Thonga custom of calling all the father's wives and all the mother's sisters mothers ; and all the father's brothers fathers. But this is not necessarily a trace of group marriage. As we have seen before, the meaning of kinship terms is very often extended to other people as a sign of respect or of love ; the Thongas, nevertheless, know perfectly well the difference existing between the technical use of these terms and their wider connotation. There is something natural in these appellations. When we call such and such a person Father Morton, Mother Fuller, Brother James or Sister Agnes, no one would take this to be a relic of the group marriage phase! On this point my conclusion would therefore be : certain customs may be considered as traces of this old system, but it is not absolutely necessary to explain them by this hypothesis. The preference accorded to a wife's sisters, or nieces, may very well owe its origin to the following cause : when a group has ascertained that its women are well treated in another group, it welcomes new alliances with that group, thinking that, in this dreadful lottery of marriage, the guarantee given by a previous happy union is not to be despised!

APPENDIX IV (See p. 221). South African Bantu

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I. *Ancestors and Descendants*

	Thonga-Ronga	Thonga-Djonga	Chopi	Zulu
Father	Tata. Roro	Tatana. Rara	Tate	Baba
Mother	Mamana. Nhwa	Manana. Mana	Mame	Mame. Ma
Father's Father	Kokwana	Kokwana	Kokwana	Baba mkulu
Mother's Father	»	»	»	»
Father's Mother	»	»	»	»
Mother's Mother	»	»	»	»
Great Grandfather & Grandmother	Kokwana wa Tatana	»	»	Gogo
Son	Ñwana (wa ndjisanyana)	Ñwana (wa mufana)	Mwanana	Ndodana
Son's wife	Ñwingi	Ñwingi		Makoti. Malukazane
Daughter	Ñwana (wa wanhonyana)	Ñwana (wa wanhwana)	Mwanana	Ndodakazi
Daughter's husband	Mukoñwana	Mukoñwana		Umkwenyana
Grandson, granddaughter	Ntukulu	Ntukulu	Mutukulu	Umzukulu
Grandson's son	Ntukulu wa shi kandjatjolo	Ntukulu shinguhe	Mutukulu wa shinguha	

II. *Brothers and Sisters*

Elder Brother (of a boy)	Nhondjwa. Hosi	Nhondjwa. Hosi	Nkoma	Umnewetu
» » (of a girl)	»	»	Ndi ya ngu. Tate	»
Younger Brother (of a boy)	Ndjisana	Ndjisana	Nanda	Umfowetu
» » (of a girl)	»	»	Ndi ya ngu	»
Elder Sister (of a boy)	Nhondjwa. Hosi	Nhondjwa. Hosi	Ndi ya ngu	Dadewetu
» » (of a girl)	»	»	Nkoma	»
Younger Sister (of a boy)	Ndjisana	Ndjisana	Ndi ya ngu	»
» » (of a girl)	»	»	Nanda	»
Elder Brother's Wife (for a boy)	Namu	Namu	Ndombi	Makoti
» » » (for a girl)	» Nhombe	»	»	»
Younger Brother's Wife (for a boy)	Ñwingi	Ñwingi	Ndombi	»
» » » (for a girl)	Namu. Nhombe			»
Elder Sister's Husband (for a boy)	Namu. Mukoñwana	Mukoñwana	Mukwana	Umkwenyana
Younger Sister's Husband (for a boy)	Namu. Mukoñwana	Mukoñwana	Mukwana	Umkwenyana
General name of Brothers and Sisters	Ba-Makwerju	Ba-Makweru	Ba-Ndi-ya-ngu	

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Kinship System.

in the direct Line.

Xosa	Sutho (Basutoland)	Pedi-Khaha	Venda	Tonga (Inhambane)	Njao
u-Fawo	Ntate. Ra	Baba. Bê-papa	Khotsi	Nyebe. Baba	Baba
u-Ma	'Me (= Mme)	Mma. Bô-mmê	Mme	Mayime. Mayi	Mayi
u-Baw'omkulu	Ntate mohôlô	Kuku. Makgolo	Makhulu	Koko. Kokwe	Tshekulu
»	»	Makgolo	»	»	»
u-Makulu	Nkhôsâ. 'Me mohôlô	Makgolo	»	»	Mbiya
	Nkhosâ 'Me mohôlô	Kuku	»	»	»
u-Koko	Ntate mohôlô-hôlô	Makgoloko-toane	Makhulukuku	Koko wa baba	
u-Nyana	Mora	Moroa	Mwana	Mwana	Mwana
u-Mokazana	Ngoetsi	Ngoeci	Mazwale	Ngadja mwana	Nyamwana
i-Tombi	Morali	Moradi	Mwana	Mwana	Mwana
um-Kwenyana	Mokhoenyana	Mokgonyana	Muduhulu	Mwane	Mukwambo
um-Zukulwana	Setlôholô	Motlogolo	Muduhulu	Ntugulu	Muzukulu
	Setlôholoana	Motlogolo-tlogolwane		Ntugulu ginguha	Muzukulu shinguha

Their Wives and Husbands.

um-Kulwa	Mohôloane	Mogolo	Mukomana	Nkoma	Mukulu
um-Nakwetu (Buti)	Khaitseli	Kgaecadi	Khaladzi		
um-Ninawe	Moena	Morathô	Murathu	Nanda	Munukuna
um-Nakwetu (Buti)	Khaitseli	Kgaecadi	Khaladzi		
um-Dade (omkulu)	Khaitseli	Kgaecadi	Khaladzi	Ndi ya ngu	Mukulu
u-Dade wetu (Sisi)	Mohôloane	Mogolo	Mukomana		
u-Dade (omncinci)	Khaitseli	Kgaecadi	Khaladzi		Munukuna
um-Sakwetu (Sisi)	Moena	Morathô	Murathu		
um-Kuluwakazi	Mohatu'a mohôloane	Mmadi oa mogolo	Mwane		Mayi
um-Kuluwakazi (Sisi)	Molamô	Mogadibo Mmammusa	Mubuyo		
um-Ninawekazi	Mohatu'a ngoan'esu	Mmadi oa morathô	Musali wa murathu	Ngadja mwana	Nyamwana
um-Ninawekazi (Sisi)	Molamô	Mogadibo Mmammusa	Mubuyo		
u-Sheni	Sear. Khaitseli	Mogoê	Mukwasha. Muduhulu	Mwane	Mukwambo
u-Sheni	Sear. Khaitseli	Mogoê	Mukwasha. Muduhulu	Mwane	Mukwambo
	Bana beau	Bo-ngoan'esu			

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III. *Children of*

	Thonga-Ronga	Thonga-Djonga	Chopi	Zulu
Elder Brother's son (for a man) .	Ñwana	Ñwana	Mwana	Ndodana. Mtanami
» » (for a woman)	»	»	Tsandzana	Ndodana. Mtanami
Younger Brother's son (for a man).	»	»	Mwana	Ndodana. Mtanami
» » (for a woman)	»	»	Tsandzana	Ndodana. Mtanami
Sister's son (for a man)	Ntukulu. Mupsyana	Ntukulu	Mutukulu	Ndodana. Mtanami
» (for a woman) . . .	Ñwana	Ñwana	Mwana	Ndodana. Mtanami
Brother's daughter (for a man). .	Ñwana	Ñwana	Mwana	Ndodakazi. Mtanami
» » (for a woman) .	Ñwana. Nhlampsa	Ñwana. Nhlampsa	Tsandzana	Ndodakazi. Mtanami
Sister's daughter (for a man) . . .	Ntukulu	Ntukulu	Mutukulu	Ndodakazi. Mtanami
» » (for a woman) .	Ñwana	Ñwana	Mwana	Ndodakazi. Mtanami

IV. *Relatives on*

Father's Elder Brother	Tatana lwe nkulu	Tatana lo' nkulu	Tata wa hombe	Baba mkulu
His wife	Mamana	Manana	Mame	Mame
Father's Younger Brother . . .	Tatane lwe' ntjongo	Tatana lo' ntjongo	Tata wa mudoto	Baba m'cane
His wife	Mamana	Manana	Mame	Mame m'cane
Father's Brother's Son	Makwerju	Makweru	Nkoma. Nanda.	Umfowetu
His wife (for a man)	Namu. Ñwingi	Namu. Ñwingi	Ndombi	Makoti
Father's Brother's Daughter . .	Makwerju	Makweru	Ndi ya ngu	Dadawetu
Her husband (for a boy) . . .	Mukoñwana	Mukoñwana	Mukwasa	Umkwenyana
» » (for a girl) . . .	Namu	Namu		
Father's Sister	Rarana. Rarakati	Habena	Hahani	Babekazi
Her Husband (for a boy) . . .	Namu	Mukoñwana	Mukwasa	Baba. Umkwenyane
» » (for a girl). . . .	Nkata. Nuna	Namu. Nuna	Ndombi	Baba
Father's Sister's Son (for a man).	Ntukulu. Shitale	Ntukulu	Mutukulu	Umzala
» » (for a woman)	Ñwana. Shitale	Ñwana	Mwana	»
Father's Sister's Daughter (for a man)	Ntukulu. Shitale	Ntukulu	Mutukulu	»
Father's Sister's Daughter (for a woman)	Ñwana. Shitale	Ñwana		»
The wife of Father's Sister's Son	Ntukulu	Ntukulu	Mutukulu	»
The Husband of Father's Sister's Daughter	»	»	»	»

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Brothers and Sisters.

Xosa	Sutho (Basutoland)	Pedi-Khaha	Venda	Tonga (Inhambane)	Njao
s-Nyana	Ngoana	Ngoana oa mogolo	Mwana wa mukomana	Mwana	Mwana
»	»	Ngoana oa mogolo	Mwana wa khaladzi	»	»
»	»	Ngoana oa morathó	Mwana wa murathu	»	»
»	»	Ngoana oa morathó	Mwana wa khaladzi	»	»
s-Nyana. um-Tshana	Mochana	Motlogolo	Muduhulu	Ntugulu	Muzukulu
s-Nyana. um-Tshana	»	»	Mwana	Nyahama	
in-Tombi	Morali		Mwana	Mwana	
	»				
in-Tombi. um-Tshana	Mochana	Motlogolo	Muduhulu	Ntugulu	Muzukulu
in-Tombi. um-Tshana	Ngoana				

the Father's Side.

s-Tata omkulu	Ntate mohólo	Ramogolo	Khotsi muhulu	Baba kongolo	Baba mukulu
s-Ma-omkulu	Nkhónó	Mamogolo	Mme muhulu	Mayi kongolo	Mayi
s-Tata-omcinci	Rangoane	Rangoanê	Khotsi munene	Baba dugwane	Baba muloko
s-Ma-omcinci	Rangoane. Mangoane	Mmanê	Mme munene	Mayi dugwane	Mayi
s-Kayise	Ngoan'esu	Ngoana ramogolo	Mukomana	Nwanduye	Hama
	Mohats'a ngoan'esu		Mmane	Namu	
s-Kayise	Khaitseli	Kgaecadi	Khaladzi	Gogadji	
s-Sibari	Scar. Khaitseli	Scar. Kgaecadi	Muduhulu	Mwane Nyahama	
»					
s-Dadobawo	Rakhali	Rakgadi	Makhadzi	Hahani	Thethadji
s-Malume	Rakhali (oa monna)	Motlogolo	Mukwasha. Muduhulu	Mwane	Mukwambo
»				Namu	
um-Za	Motsoala	Motsoala	Muzwala	Ntugulu	
»	»	»	»	Nyahama	Muzukulu
»	Motsoala	»	Muzwala	Ntugulu	
»	»	»	»		
»		Mosadi oa motsoala	Muzwala	Ngandja mwana	Nyamwana
»	Motsoala		Mukwasha Muduhulu	Ntugulu	

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V. *Relatives on*

	Thonga-Ronga	Thonga-Djonga	Chopi	Zulu
Mother's Brother	Malume	Malume. Kokwana	Kokwana	Malume
Mother's Brother's Wife (for a man)	Nsati	Kokwana	»	Mamekazi
» » (for a woman)	Malume	»	»	»
Mother's Brother's Son	Malume. Ntale	Kokwana	»	Umzala
His wife	Namu		»	»
Mother's Brother's Daughter	Mamana. Ntale	Manana	Mamanyana	»
Her Husband	Tatana	Tatana	Tate	»
Mother's Brother's Grandchildren	Bakokwana	Bakokwana		Ndodana. Ndodakazi
Mother's Elder Sister	Mamana	Mamana	Mame	Mamekazi
Mother's Younger Sister	»	»	»	»
Mother's Sister's Husband	Tatana	Tatana	Tate	Malume
Mother's Sister's Son (for a boy)	Makwerju	Makwerju	Ndi ya ngu	Umzala
» » » (for a girl)	»	»	»	
His Wife	Namu	Namu	Ndombi	Umzala. Kanina
Mother's Sister's Daughter (for a boy)	Makwerju	Makweru	Ndi ya ngu	»
Mother's Sister's Daughter (for a girl)	»	»	»	»
Her Husband (for a boy)	Namu. Mukoñwana	Mukoñwana	Mwane. Mukwasa	»
» » (for a girl)	Mukoñwana	Namu. Nuna	Ndombi	»

VI. *Relatives on*

Wife	Nsati. Nkata	Nsati	Musikati	Umfazi
Wife's Father	Mukoñwana. Tatana	Mukoñwana. Tatana	Tate	Umkwe
Wife's Mother	Mukoñwana. Mamana	Mukoñwana. Mamana	Mame	Umkwekazi
Wife's Elder Brother	Mukoñwana	Mukoñwana	Musade	Umlamu. Sivar
His Wife	Mukoñwana lwe'nkulu	Mukoñwana lo'nkulu	Nkokati	»
Wife's Younger Brother	Namu	Namu. Mukoñwana	Musade. Ndombi	»
His Wife	Mukoñwana lwe'nkulu	Mukoñwana lwe'nkulu	Nkokati	»
Wife's Elder Sister	Mukoñwana. Mamana	Namu	Ndombi	»
Her Husband	Makwerju	Makweru wa shinauma	Nkoma	Umnakwetu

the Mother's Side.

Xosa	Sutho (Basutoland)	Pedi-Khaha	Venda	Tonga (Inhambane)	Ndjao
u-Malume	Malôme	Malome	Malume	Koko	Tabekulu
u-Malume wesifazi	Malôme. Nkhônô	Makgolo	Makhulu	»	Mbiya nkadji
u-Malume wesifazi	Malôme. Nkhônô	»		»	
um Za	Motsoala	Motsoala	Muzwala	»	
»	Mosali oa motsoala	Makgolo		»	
»	Motsoala	Motsoala	Muzwala	Ngadja mwana	Mayi
»	Monna oa motsoala	Mogadjea oa motsoala	Mukwasha	Baba	
	Bana ba motsoala	Bana ba makgolo		Ba mwana mayi	
u-Makazi	Nkhônô. Me	Mmê-mogolo	Mme muhulu	Mayi kongolo	Mayi mukulu
»	Mangoane	Mmê ngoanê	Mmane	Mayi dugwane	Mayi muloko
u-Malume	Rangoane	Ramogolo. Rangoanê	Monna wa mme muhulu	Koko	
u-Kanima	Ngoan'esu	Mogolo. Morathó	Mukomana. Murathu	Wanduye	Hama
»	Khaitseli	Kgaecadi	Khaladzi		
»	Mosali oa ngoan'esu	Mogadjea oa mogolo		Namu. Mayana	
»	Khaitseli	Kgaecadi		Ntugulu	
»	Ngoan'esu	Mogolo. Morathó			
»	Monna oa khaitseli	Mogoê		Ntugulu	
»	Monna oa ngoan'esu	Mokgonyana		Nyahama	Hama

the Wife's Side.

um-Fazi	Mosali	Mosadi	Musadzi	Mwangadji	Mukadji
u-Bawonke	Mohoe. Mokhoenyana	Makgolo. Ratsoale	Makhulu	Baba. Sade	Mukwambo. Babe
u-Mazala. um-Kwekazi	Mohoehali	Mogoêgadi	Makhulu	Mayi	Mukwambo. Ba-Mbiya
um-Kwe. u-Sibari	Soar. Khaitseli	Mogoê	Malume	Babe	Mukwambo
u-Sibari	Khaitseli	Makgolo	Makhulu	Mayi gogadji	Ba-Mbiya
um-Kwe. u-Sibari	Soar. Khaitseli	Mogoê	Malume	Baba. Sadenyana	Mukwambo
u-Sibari	Khaitseli	Makgolo	Makhulu	Mayi gogadji	Ba-Mbiya
um-Lazyakazi	Molamô	Makgolo. Molamo	Mme muhulu	Mayi gogadji	Mwalamo. Mukadji muhulu
um-Nakwetu	Fube	Makgolo. Molamo	Khotsi muhulu	Ndi ya ngu	Hama

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VI. *Relatives on*

	Thonga-Ronga	Thonga-Djonga	Chopi	Zulu
Wife's Younger Sister	Namu. Nhombe	Namu	Ndombi	Umlamu
Her Husband	Makwerju	Makweru wa shinauma	Nanda	Umnakwetu
Wife's Brother's Son	Namu	Mukoñwana	Musade	Ndodane. Mtanami
His Wife	Mukoñwana lwe'nkulu	Mukoñwana	Nkokati	Makoti
Wife's Brother's Daughter	Namu. Nsati	Namu. Nsati	Ndombi	Mtanami
Her Husband		Makweru	Ndi ya ngu	Umkwenyana
Wife's Sister's Son	Ñwana	Ñwana	Mwana	Mtanami
His Wife	Ñwingi	Ñwingi	Mwingi	Makoti
Wife's Sister's Daughter	Ñwana	Ñwana	Mwana	Mtanami
Her Husband	Ñwana	Ñwana	Mwana	Umkwenyana
Daughter of Wife's Brother's Son	Nsati. Namu	Nsati	Musikati	Umzukulu

VII. *Relatives on*

Husband	Nuna. Nkata	Nuna	Mwamna	Ndoda. Umyeni
Husband's Father	Ñwingi	Ñwingi	Mwingi. Tate	Baba
Husband's Mother	Ñwingi	Ñwingi. Manana.	Mwingi. Mame	Mame
Husband's Elder Brother	Ñwingi	Ñwingi. Namu.	Ndombi	Umnewetu
His Wife	Makwerju	Makweru wa shinauma	Ndi ya ngu	Dadewetu
Husband's Younger Brother	Namu	Namu	Ndombi	Umnewetu
His Wife	Makwerju	Makweru wa shinauma	Mnanda	Dadewetu
Husband's Elder Sister	Mamana. Nhombe	Namu	Ndombi	Dadwetu
Her Husband	Mukoñwana lwe'nkulu	Mukoñwana lo'nkulu	Mukwana	Umkwenyana
Husband's Younger Sister	Namu. Nhombe	Namu	Ndombi	Dadewetu
Her Husband	Mukoñwana lwe'nkulu	Mukoñwana lo'nkulu	Mukwana	Umkwenyana
Husband's Brother's Son	Ñwana	Ñwana	Mwana	Mtanami
His Wife	Ñwingi	Ñwingi	Mwana	Makoti
Husband's Brother's Daughter	Ñwana	Ñwana	Mwana	Mtanami
Her Husband	Ñwana	Mukoñwana		Umkwenyane
Husband's Sister's Son	Ntukulu. Nkata	Ntukulu. Nkata	Mutukulu	Mtanami
His Wife	Ntukulu	Ntukulu	»	Makoti
Husband's Sister's Daughter	Ntukulu	Ntukulu	»	Mtanami
Her Husband	»	»	»	Umkwenyane